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to expect to be dealt with exactly as the people of powerful States would be"; of the fact that "the people of Mexico have not been suffered to own their own institutions," and that "outsiders could dictate who should control their land, their lives, and their resources"; of the fact that Americans have been pressing for things they could never have got in their own country, and of the fact that "the people of Mexico are struggling for the rights that are fundamental to life and happiness—15,000,000 oppressed men, overburdened women, pitiful children in mutual bondage in their home of fertile lands and inexhaustible treasure"—in the light of these acknowledged facts, why have we heard so much about "intervention" in Mexico? After all the congressional investigations, why are we still uninformed? We hope and believe that President Wilson spoke the truth September 2, 1916, when he said: "The people of the United States are capable of great sympathies and of noble pity." Now, in the hour of Mexico's sorrow, it is for us to sympathize and pity, to remember our birthright of service, of national honor and magnanimity.

IT IS WRITTEN

THE course of any evolution of any international peace is written before us if we but use our eyes. The words are there on the shield, the shield of the world's infinite past. On the one side the words say, we must not; on the other they say, we must.

We must not lust after false gods among the nations, make unto ourselves graven images of gold and silver and other trinkets of greed and avarice, for the God of Peace is a jealous god, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, and upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that mistrust Him. We must not take the name of Peace in vain, for Peace will not hold us guiltless if we take his name in vain. We must not overreach ourselves, protest too much, neglect to keep still on occasion. We must forget neither the paternal protection of the State nor the maternal ministrations of the home, if we would that our days be long and that it may go well with us in the land which God has given unto us. We must not expect peace to flow from our much killings. We must not forget the sanctity of persons, especially of women, the mothers of men. We must not attempt to reach unto that permanent peace which flows from justice either by stealing from our neighbors or by lying unto them. We must not covet our neighbor's goods. Verily these things are so.

Men find it most difficult to read the other side of the shield, but the writing there is also plain. The Supreme Council and the League of Nations may vie with

each other for places of power; but neither, as at present constituted, can by force of arms assure peace, because peace between States is not maintained by force of arms. Without discussing the point, the Treaty of Versailles may from the point of view of war have been justified, but from the point of view of peace an entirely different order must be established. The Council of the League of Nations, about to convene in Rome for its fifth meeting, will do well if it applies its mind to such questions as international disarmament, the publication of all treaties entered into by members of the League, to the greater publicity of all efforts for an international reconciliation; but if it expects to establish a mandate over Armenia and to maintain peace in Asia Minor and the Balkans by an international military force supported by the great Powers, it is pursuing the will-o'-the-wisp that led the Roman Empire and the German Confederation into the bogs of oblivion. That fact is written plainly on the shield of history.

International conferences there must be. That the Supreme Council aims to turn itself into a national governmental organization, admitting German and Russian delegates, may be disconcerting to the League of Nations, but it is a step in the direction of the inevitable thing that is to be. A call has been issued by the Council of the League of Nations for a meeting of a commission, under Article XIV of the Treaty of Peace, to formulate and submit for adoption plans for the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice. Upon invitation the two American citizens best qualified of all Americans are preparing to serve upon that commission. By the time this is printed they will probably be on their way to Europe. The establishment of a juridical union of the nations, to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions shall be parties, pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, their difficulties involving law and equity—to the permanent Court of the Nations, whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also the parties to its creation, such an agency for the promotion of justice under law, and therefore of the peace of righteousness, is assured. Since it is written that there are self-evident truths, such as "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; it is, therefore, also written that through recurring conferences of all the nations, international law, stating more and more clearly the rights of nations, and an International Court of Justice, with power of jurisdiction clearly defined, interpreting those rights, shall together co-operate unto the healing of the nations.

THE PACT OF LONDON, document of undying fame in the history of secret diplomacy, signed April 26, 1915, was first given official publication by the British Government on April 29, when it appeared in a "White Book." Russian "reds," however, long since gave it to the world, having found its text in the Petrograd archives. The ironic humors of the post-war period help some folks to keep the appearance of normality.

THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT has formally asked from the French Government permission for visits to the battlefields in France of kindred of Germans who fought and died in defeat. The answer, if affirmative, will bring about contacts that will test the humanity of all concerned.

APOLL of the preferences of the members of Yale's Class of '20 on a variety of topics, some consequential and others inconsequential, is said to show that since the 1914-1918 war Lincoln has superseded Napoleon as the favorite character in history of a majority of the men. Even a death-bed repentance is welcomed by the church and is better than contumacy to the end; but did it require the education of this latest horror to induce the educated youth of Yale to see more moral greatness and historical importance in Lincoln? If so, what an indictment of the parents, teachers, and spiritual guides of yesterday.

THERE is much to be said for the decision of the British War Graves Commission that the graves of the humblest private and highest general who gave their lives in the war shall be decorated alike with a standard stone bearing the same inscription, "Their Name Liveth Forevermore," chosen by Kipling. That is a "democracy in death" quite different from our Arlington Cemetery, near Washington, where the ornate and simple, the elaborate monument and bare "marker," perpetuate a class distinction peculiarly military in form and spirit.

HON. THEODORE E. BURTON, formerly U. S. Senator from Ohio and recently a careful student of political, economic, and racial problems in the Far East, has declined nomination to the Tariff Commission, tendered him by President Wilson, and will remain in private life. It is to be hoped that some day soon he will be able to serve the nation in settling some phases of its international policy now in dispute or vaguely sensed by the people. Long President of the American Peace Society and now one of its Vice-Presidents, he has specialized knowledge equipping him for the task.

THERE IS ACUTENESS in the remark of the reviewer in *The Nation* of Andreas Latzko's book, "The Judgment of Peace," that "those who hate war most find themselves in the paradoxical position of feeling obliged to keep alive the knowledge of war—of war as it really is, and not as it will tend to seem as time heals the deep gashes of our five years and the perennial human passion for making myths begins its work."

IT WOULD seem that "The America's Gift to France Association" could find something better to give to France just now than a heroic statue, to be placed near the village of Meaux. France is devastated and in need of raw materials. Meaux, overlooking the Marne, where the first German advance on Paris was arrested by Joffre on September 6, 1914, is its own monument to the sacrifice of the French. Some day, in happier times, we may make some suitable return for the Statue of Liberty presented by France to America in 1886. For this association to begin the collections of subscriptions from the school children of America for such a purpose at this time seems very much to us like handing a violet and a smile to a man in the desperate throes of starvation.

IF WINSTON CHURCHILL's words and deeds as Secretary of War are true indices of the coming British military policy, England intends to do most of her policing and fighting in years to come through aviation corps and not by the army or navy. From the economic side, the plan would seem to have advantages, since in the recent suppression of revolt in Somaliland the aviators, by use of bombs and other devices of destruction, have done for \$150,000 what it cost \$12,000,000 to do during a prior uprising. "Efficiency, thy name is God, and many are thy devotees," but terrible is thy toll. Kitchener won lasting infamy by the ruthless way in which he used the rapid-fire gun on the desert dwellers of North Africa. But what is a rapid-fire gun compared with a deposit of dynamitic stuff dropped from the skies on villages and storehouses of the natives, on men, women, and children? The warrior's "treat 'em rough" is the warrior's indispensable and inescapable stock in trade.

THE SAN REMO CONFERENCE of the Inter-Allied Supreme War Council, convening April 19, has seemed to us typical of the most secret of secret diplomatic gatherings of a most discredited past. The only thing of which we seem to be perfectly sure is that the Premier of Great Britain and the Premier of France are more friendly than before the conference. The conference seems to have been held in San Remo because

Lloyd-George was opposed to Paris and London on the ground that a secret conference in either of those places was impossible. The conference at San Remo has been so secret that it gives color to the suspicion that there must have been something to conceal. And yet Mr. Lloyd-George has delivered a special message to the women of Great Britain given as an interview in the *London Sketch*, in which he said:

"The conference at San Remo means that the last war in world-wide conflict is about to be terminated in a stern but just peace. That surely is an event of great importance for the women of the world. But the decisions of the conference have a deeper meaning than even that. They mean that the sacrifices of men and women are not to be in vain. They also mean that militarism, with its horrors and its dangers, is to be kept under wherever it threatens the peace of the world.

"From this viewpoint the decision to insist on the disarmament of Germany has great importance, but the decision to confer with German statesmen has equal importance. It signifies that the nations are determined that their misunderstandings should be settled by deliberation and reason, and not by constant brandishing of the sword."

Once again, one wonders at the high-handed disregard of the League of Nations.

THE legislature of New York has passed and Governor Smith has signed a bill which reads thus:

"Any person who knowingly and wilfully states, delivers, or transmits by any means whatever to any manager, editor, publisher, reporter, or other employee of a publisher of any newspaper, magazine, publication, periodical, or serial any false and untrue statement of a fact concerning any person or corporation, with intent that the same shall be published, is guilty of misdemeanor."

The sponsor for this new law was an up-country editor, who knew the subject he was dealing with. This is a statute limited in its authority, geographically considered. Were there some such crystallization of the best public opinion of the world controlling interstate and international news distribution and publication, how much easier it would be to have correct opinions about what has happened and what should happen. One of the most fundamental problems facing society today is the one dealt with in this New York law. There is universal distrust of press associations, newspapers, and publicity agents. This ought not to be.

THE hymnody of the church, like its theology and polity, needs constant revision, and in no respect more than its "classics," which embody the terminology of war, written most of them in eras when Church and State were one and when war was conceived of as a winner of both lands and possible converts. Former President of Harvard, Charles W. Eliot, long ago framed a memorable indictment of this defect in the

hymns used in most American Protestant churches, but being looked upon as a "heretic" by most of the persons he criticized his words had little effect. The vicar of the Anglican Church at Colne, England, by name J. H. Hopkinson, is the son of a former vice-chancellor of the University of Manchester. A lesser ecclesiastic, he need not expect that much heed will be paid to his words, unless they prove to have back of them the support of many of the clergy and laity, which we hope is the case. Nevertheless he rightly says:

"We have learned that war is not a matter of fluttering banners and clashing swords and beating drums, but merely a sickening and dirty butchery of lads in water-logged or fly-infested trenches. We shall be less ready than we were to compare the movement of the church to that of a victorious army. Hymns that we could sing unthinkingly before the war have become a lying blasphemy. Who would now sing 'Like a Mighty Army Moves the Church of God'?"

DOMINANT TOPICS in German poetry now, according to Charles Victor, writing in the *New York Evening Post* from Berlin, are "pacifism, anti-militarism, democracy, socialism, and humanity." The form used is usually the dramatic and not the lyrical or epic. The novelists are preoccupied with socialism, revolution, and politics. The essays are becoming imaginative and even fantastic. Criticism is becoming constructive and poetic. New publishing houses controlled by "intellectuals" of the younger school are springing up on every hand, as the older houses wane and as older authors, like Sudermann and Hauptmann, show their sterility. The book business today is an Eldorado. Only the rich can afford to eat, in the old-fashioned sense of the word, but everybody reads. Activity of an intellectual sort is unprecedented, albeit feverish. Can the same be said of any of the nations that defeated Germany? Gino Speranza, describing for the same journal conditions in Italy, says that twice as many books are sold in Milan now as were sold prior to the war. Profiteers are going in for antiques and classical literature, politicians for books on economics and sociology, and the common people are reading fiction. To make possible interchange of the European and the American book outputs at present rates of exchange and transmission is calling just now for generosity on the part of our publishers, learned associations, and scientific societies. That they may appreciate their duties in the premises, a distinguished group of our educators, authors, and scientists are urging upon these publishing agencies freest sort of reciprocity without regard for the law of equality of payment. We must give more than we get, say these petitioners. They base their plea on the need of retaining the "international mind."